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MYRES, JOHN LINTON

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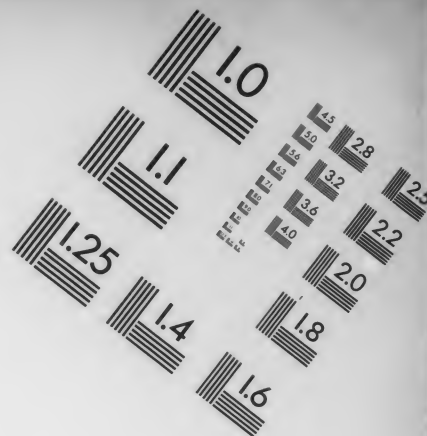
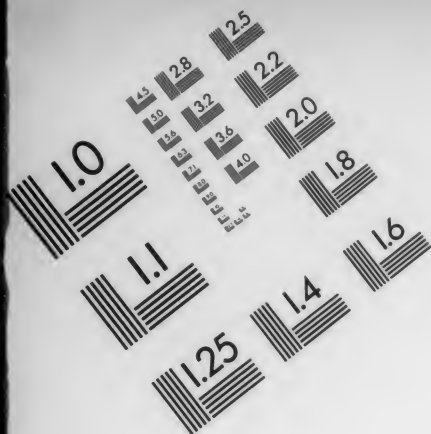


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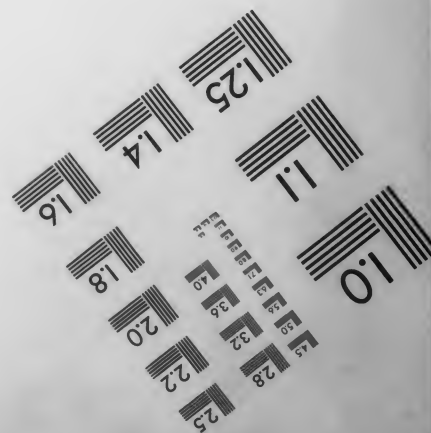
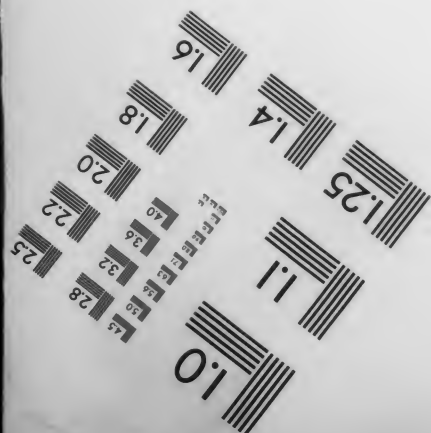
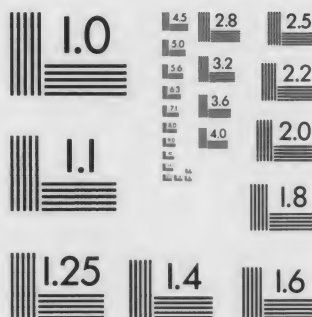
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GREEK LANDS AND THE GREEK PEOPLE

AN INAUGURAL LECTURE
DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
NOVEMBER 11 1910

BY

J. L. MYRES

Wykeham Professor of Ancient History

Price One Shilling and Sixpence net

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GREEK LANDS AND THE GREEK PEOPLE

THE first holder of this Wykeham Chair begins his tenure under fair auspices. The great College, to which I owe my earliest allegiance here, has already given to the world historians of note, and to Oxford recently a Camden and a Chichele Professor. It offers now to the University, with generous goodwill, a new Chair of Ancient History, dedicated to the special study of Greece and Greek lands; and it sets before the occupants of that Chair, for ever, the example of a great innovator in English education, a great benefactor to learning in Oxford. *Hoc fecit Wykeham.*

To respond, by offer of service, to Wykehamical foresight and munificence is the least return which any student can make, who owes as much as I do to both his Colleges. To have experienced, besides, at Magdalen, at Christ Church, and in the University of Liverpool the charm, the dignity, and the stimulus of other learned Societies, and the friendship of colleagues in more than one aspect of research and teaching, was a rare sequence of privileges, which I have valued and enjoyed to the extent of my ability. And now to come back home, to Oxford, and to New College, crowns all; to be chosen to inaugurate the new Chair is the highest honour, the completest recognition, which College and University could bestow; the strongest spur to more strenuous service.

...But my expression of thanks would not be complete

without grateful commemoration of what the University itself, through the Delegates of the Common Fund, and the Chancellor of the University, through his Trustees, have done to speed the creation of this Chair, at a moment when great issues are in suspense, when new forms of academic life, and of learned endeavour, seem imminent and indeed half realized; when old subjects and well-tried modes of study are in a sense on their trial. At such a moment, to make profession of faith in the vitality of the humanities, and among all the tempting projects of new learning to give high place to this Chair of Ancient History, was an act of wise statesmanship which others besides historians will honour.

Yet, established as it is for a traditional subject, and in an ancient University, this Wykeham Chair, for all its venerable name, has no traditions; nor have I predecessors to emulate or to lament. The responsibility is the greater; no one could feel that more profoundly than I; but it is good to know that a new Professorship is inaugurated without that shade of regret which attends the filling of a vacated Chair. I cannot, however, put hand to plough without mention of one who, without the name, has long made real in Oxford the functions of a Professor of Greek History. *Opportunitate felix*, he has brought to a fair end a work of learning and criticism, planned on broad lines, which yet broadened as it grew; and, invested now with honourable duties of another kind, he has laid down his pen for the moment, in full enjoyment of his powers. But the close of his long service in the Readership, like the completion of his *Herodotus*, involves for us, his students, no parting from him. His learning and experience remain; and may they long be here. Our free recourse to them still will be the assurance, most grateful to himself, that we do not forget.

One other moment of retrospect. I cannot but be conscious that, inaugurating the Wykeham Chair, I am

bidding farewell to work in another place, which has enchanted and inspired in no ordinary measure; to dear colleagues whose invincible loyalty to academic ideals and to all causes and persons that made for growth and adaptation, has taught me lessons of service which I can never unlearn; to students who meant business, for whom my chief anxiety always was lest they should overwork, whose native independence of character and judgement gave our intercourse a quality of comradeship intenser than I had experienced before. And I am saying good-bye to a great City; to the daily inspiration of streets and river; to the wide, wise outlook and generous sympathy of friends 'down town'; to the confident vitality, the fine civic pride, of men who know in their souls that this is no mean city, and that for Liverpool it is good to adventure and give of our best. For a City and a University like these, service (you may well imagine) brought in no ordinary degree the strength and the will to serve. Liverpool has taught me much, for indeed it has much to teach; and the three years which I spent there were all too short to learn its lesson in.

Returning now, from a City of magnificent beginnings, to Oxford, to my own College, and precisely to my chosen field of work, let me ask at the outset the question, What is the Wykeham Chair to do for a University in which the study of Ancient History in Greece and Greek lands is already so honourably represented, and for a Faculty of Arts so delicately organized to meet the traditions of the place? To be enrolled in such a School of History is in itself a privilege; in the comparative leisure of a new Chair, it is as *servus servorum* that I should wish to enter it. So I venture to take stock of what I find. In the lecture list for the current term I see, under the heading of Greek History, no less than twelve courses of lectures. None of them, however, are obelized as intended for

fourth-year students ; and having taught Greek History in Oxford, I know the reason of this : in practice, and for the majority of students, Greek History is a third-year subject, revived only for informal and hurried revision in the intervals of the Roman History which predominates in the fourth year. Having also examined in Greats, I am well aware of the disparity of the results, as tested by an Honours Examination. I note also in the lecture list a total absence of courses for young graduates : and we all know the reason for that. Under present conditions a course of study leading to the Master's Degree would have no academic utility.

On the other hand, in the Faculty of Arts there are about a dozen teachers whose main interest is in Greek History. Some of them are of more than insular fame, and all, I know, are both able and willing to maintain the traditions of Ancient History, as it has been taught and studied here. Their output of published work might strike a foreigner as small ; but they will plead that they are responsible to their Colleges for a yearly class of quite a hundred and fifty candidates for Honours. Out of this yearly class it is safe to assume that the country draws Oxford's fair share of the men who are to be responsible for the teaching of Greek subjects to the next generation of scholars at school. And on this ground only, if on no other, a professor who values his subject may be pardoned if he notes at the outset one marked feature of the study of Greek History here, which has in his opinion some regrettable effects. If he thought this was irremediable, believe me, he would let well alone.

It is difficult to believe that the movement of scientific thought which characterized the nineteenth century has spent itself yet in any department of learning ; it is certain that in the study of the ancient world its work is little more than begun. Yet the fact that at present we know so much more in detail about certain aspects of the literature than we sometimes seem to care to

know about others, and (still more) than we can possibly know yet about the vast field of evidence outside ancient literature, appears to be regarded as a reason for concentrating the attention of the next generation of students upon these comparatively worked-out aspects, and deepening the groove which is already worn in the broad surface of the subject.

I confess that I cannot follow the process of thought which has led to this result. I refuse to believe, until I have clearer evidence than at present, that this concentration of study on limited periods is due either to laziness or to incapacity. We must, however, make large allowance for this—that, recent as the present restrictions are, they have yet been in operation long enough to cover the academical career of most of us who are teaching now. The wheel has turned full circle ; Oxford has bred up a generation of specialists in the history of the centuries adjacent to the fifth ; she gives them, for their daily work, the teaching of the same limited periods ; she has manned the public schools with their pupils, of the same strict outlook and specialist habit ; and we cannot be surprised at the result. It would have been as inevitable in Paris or Berlin, if the history of their teaching had been the same.

Now, specialism of this kind is bad for the pupil, and it is bad for the teacher. It is bad for the pupil, because it gives him at a too early stage in his work a limited and (almost necessarily) a distorted impression of the subject as a whole, and of the relation of political history, which alone is touched by the majority, to its social and economic background. Above all, if the pupil has any previous knowledge, or any tincture of scientific method at the start, it encourages him to believe that the way to study Ancient History is to repeat in elaborate detail the ascertained results of earlier inquiries, and to shy at scientific novelties like a colt at a motor-car ; as if History, unlike the natural

sciences, had no 'fighting line', aggressive against the unknown.

It is no less bad for the teacher. For a dozen or more mature students to feel themselves obliged, irrespective of inclination, to keep their knowledge at concert pitch in regard to the same short section of their subject, is a wasteful tax on strength and time. It would be wholly justified if colleges were competitors in a limited market of academic prizes: it is superfluous, and an obstacle, if they are confederates for the advancement of learning. All the objections which were raised a generation ago to the new device of 'intercollegiate lectures' are there to be disinterred when any one is so bold as to practise intercollegiate tuition; and when intercollegiate tuition has become as normal as intercollegiate lecturing is now, it will be seen, I have no doubt, to be as harmless as economy. A few more wastrels than now will come by their deserts in the 'steeplechase';¹ the majority, who will work equally honestly at any subject and under any system, will be practically unaffected; and the gain to the *élite* will be great.

In our teaching here we set high value on the contact of mind with individual mind. All the great Universities are with us on this point, though none have carried their beliefs so unflinchingly into practice as Oxford has, or made the sacrifices which Oxford has made, gladly or unknowingly, to the 'tutorial idea'. But the tutorial idea, the grand ancient phrase about 'reading with' a master, presumes in the first place that tutor and pupil are engaged in a common quest which is *their* quest; and as long as either tutors or pupils remain as various and as human as they actually are, the proportion of quests under the present regulations which are not *their* quest, but are simply 'good for the Schools', is likely to be high. Yet what would

¹ I borrow this candid metaphor from a letter of Mr. S. G. Owen to the *Times*, Nov. 4, 1910.

be thought of a system of education for law or medicine, or any handicraft, in which men who 'read with' an expert in chambers or laboratory were withheld by a mushroom etiquette from the study of English Law after Blackstone, or of the human body below the waist?

It is because our numbers here are large, and our staff, as I believe, quite large enough to handle them on a more liberal plan, that I venture to plead for elasticity and for a wider general outlook in our teaching scheme. Rigid as are the physical conditions of life in the Mediterranean world, there have yet been centuries in which Man has been able to shake himself so far free of Nature's limitations, as to create masterpieces of society and speculation, as well as of craftsmanship, which the world accepts as standards. The culture of the Greek city states in their prime is one of these masterpieces: Humanity has ever since been different because of it—fuller, maturer, and in the best sense *better*. And the study of this central period of Greek History must always attract the majority, without any official recognition.

There have been other periods—such as that which opens, not closes, with Alexander—when, in the full light of history, with a growing harvest of contemporary documents, and with an observer of the first rank, like Polybius, to guide us at a crucial phase, we can watch one social order in process of transmutation into a new one. Among the instruments of that transmutation are a series of individuals, as nearly emancipated as any group of men in history from social and political restrictions—Alexander himself, the founders of the dynasties which shared his Empire, and the philosophers who conjured Stoic and Epicurean doctrines out of the wreckage of Sparta and Athens. Such periods make their own appeal to congenial minds, to biographers and politicians, as well as to philosophers and men of letters; and I have known men here, who, captured in advance by some aspect of them, have literally worked

double hours, so as to satisfy their own intellect, without failing their College in Greats. They are periods also, as we know, of which Oxford is proud to claim historians; and it is due to them, no less than to their subject, to plead that if the Schools are a 'steeplechase', the horses shall at least be ridden without blinkers.

There have been ages, again, in which the obstacles to free and good life have not been thus surmounted, either for societies or individuals; when it has been a struggle merely to live at all; when well-being, even on a low plane, was only attainable by close conformity to social types of almost zoological rigidity; when the opportunities for individual adventure, for originality of any kind, were few and perilous. These periods of history are not the easiest to study; to many fine historians they are not only difficult but repulsive; they have been abandoned willingly to 'Phoenician' or archaeological enterprise; but that does not exclude them from the province of the historian, or forbid them to have value in Universities. To some minds, indeed, such periods of abasement and obscure conflict have even a strong fascination. The large compulsion of geographical control; the automatic, instinctive response of whole communities to nameless leaderless impulses—*ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκε*; the rigid social armour of *πόλις* and *φυλή* which men were riveting about themselves against a universe which was *φύσει πολέμιον*;—these offer problems quite as well worth attack as many which lie in the daylight of the fifth century, or in the glamour of Thucydides.

One further point, before I pass to my proper business. The great problems of history are problems of determining precisely 'what it was that happened', when men, at a parting of the ways, chose deliberately this or that 'apparent good', and so, as we say, 'made history'. These problems are most strictly historical when the element of human choice is preponderant.

In proportion as other factors predominate in our estimate of what happened, the problem becomes less one of history, and approximates to the problems of sociology or of human geography. But in all historical problems both elements are there—the human decision, and the physical, non-human situation; and it is common matter of controversy what relative weight is to be assigned in history to the rational or specifically human factors, and to those general instincts and impulses which Man shares with other animals. Hunger, for example, is not a specifically human experience; yet hunger, intensified in Man by his specifically human power of presenting the hunger of others as an urgent motive for action, has been, and is, a frequent cause of historical events. If, then, we are to estimate accurately, as historians, the motives for a corn-policy like that of Solon, or Gaius Gracchus, or Sir Robert Peel, we must among other things be clear as to the intensity and the causes of the hunger which that policy was to relieve; and this takes us quite beyond the cries of a famine-stricken mob, into questions which are questions of economic geography, but of which it was none the less obligatory for an ancient statesman to have knowledge, if he is to rank as a great man for us, and for us to have knowledge, if we are to rank as historians of him. Scientific knowledge, again, and the applications of it, are in the main as remote as possible from political history; yet Alyattes, in Herodotus, ranks higher than Kyaxares and, as we say, 'deserved to win' the Battle of the Eclipse, because with Thales behind him he was insured against panic among his men. Just so, again, in the Manchurian War, the high standard of patriotism in the armies of Japan would have counted for less than it did, but for the reasoned foresight which minimized all risks of war but those from bullet and shell. What the eclipse was to the troops of Alyattes, disease had become to those of Oyama, an efficient bogey for the enemy; and the historian of that war will

have to take account of this, with such specialist aid as he may.

Recent instances easily occur to us, even beyond the beaten tracks of archaeology, in which sciences, other than history, and concerned rather with Nature than with Man, have contributed to fresh and truer estimates of 'what actually happened' in the ancient world.¹ And it is no valid objection that these fresh channels of knowledge bring more darkness and confusion than they remove. I have yet to learn that any large increase of knowledge is possible without wholesome uprooting of its frontier-stones; spring-cleanings are not effected without raising some dust at the time. Some of us can remember our own desperate plight in the earlier days of Mycenaean discovery; but it was not those who knew most and cared most about Greek History in Oxford who spoke loud or scornfully of our rough copies for its Preface.

Another such excursion into an academic outland has engaged me latterly, and I willingly celebrate an occasion which cannot recur by submitting, as to colleagues and friends, what seems to me the central

x ¹ I mention only a few, in illustration. Before the construction of Curtius and Kaupert's *Karten von Attika*, all work on the early history of Attica, including even such late phases as the reconstitution of the tribes by Cleisthenes, had been done in necessary ignorance of the actual lie of many sites, the quality of their population, and the farmstead-distribution of it. In the same way, it was not until the battle-fields of Greece had been accurately surveyed by cartographers who knew something about warfare—I am glad to think of one of them as a colleague here—that it was possible to estimate, with any agreement as to facts, the generalship of the leaders, or to discover from the sources—which were obviously *not* written by military surveyors—where and how the fighting had occurred. Think, too, of the misapprehensions which have been cleared away from the history of Greek trade and navigation, especially in historic times, by M. Berard's brilliant combinations of ancient and modern sea-lore; or how one of the first uses of the new science of bacteriology was to throw light on the distribution of malaria in Greek lands; or, again, how the extension of historic meteorology, as Mr. Huntington for instance understands it, into the Mediterranean region, is enlarging our comprehension of the dawn and twilight of the Graeco-Roman world.

problem of all, in an aspect which at present I find suggestive. In what sense are there *Greek lands*, and in what relation of cause or effect do Greek lands stand to the Greek people? Or, to put it the other way round: Geographically considered, *who were the Greeks?* How did this unique flower of humanity spring into bloom just when it did? This is not, in itself, a historical question; strictly speaking, indeed, it is a question of economic biology; but the answer to it, or rather the view we take of the way to find an answer to it, seems to me in some sort to predispose all subsequent treatment of more strictly historical questions. I submit it therefore now, though necessarily in the barest outline, as prelude to work in this Chair. It can be but a first gleaning in an unripe field, and I may well incur with Thrasybulus the reproach *ὡς παραπλήγᾳ τε καὶ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ σινάμωνιν*. I would only plead that I have tried to do as he did. *Ἄμα τε διεξήμει τὸ λήμιον ἐπειρωτῶν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζων . . . καὶ ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὅπως τιναῖ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέχοντα*.

It would betray very partial apprehension of the subject if I were to confine our inquiry to periods which precede the 'great age' of Hellas. And even were I to do so, we should not be allowed to forget that there is still a Greek people, and that it is still making history in the Aegean world; still displaying in rather disconcerting ways something of the old knack of seeing things not quite as others see them, still ardent in pursuit of ideals great and small, in defiance of what we *βάρβαροι* call common sense; in their faults, as in their virtues, *ἀεὶ παῖδες*.

It is a commonplace of political abuse to say that the modern Greek is no child of the old; that he is Albanian, or Vlach, or Levantine, in a scant 'Hellenophone' disguise. And there are apparently some to whom the fact or the imputation that they are proselytes brings needless pain. To these, English scholarship at least may offer the consolation, from experience almost as

long, that with peoples, as with individuals, the material cause of well-being is a good digestion. A nationality which has absorbed and anglicized as much raw humanity as ours has can at all events appreciate and admire, as a symptom of national vitality, the power to Hellenize which the Greeks retain. It is indeed their noblest proof of title. And the proof of the pudding is in the eating: ἐκρίθη εἶναι Ἕλληνα καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ. It is no accident that in Herodotus nearly all the great men of Athens, not Alcmaeonids (Peisistratids, Philaids, and Gephyraeans), are expressly of un-Attic origin; even where their origin itself was uncertain, the presumption for the historian was strong: τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. So too, the crucial instance of Cleisthenic reform is the eponymous Ajax himself; τοῦτον δέ, ἅτε ἀστυγέιτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξείνον ἐόντα, προσέθετο. Not birthright, but residence and loyalty, were to be touchstone of Atticism.

Some light is thrown, I think, on the general nature of the process by which both peoples and civilizations are made, by comparison of its successive phases in the Aegean world; for in that world we have more copious and varied experiment than elsewhere, and a longer extent of time in which to see how history, and still more, natural history, repeats itself. The mountains and the sea, the climate, and the vegetation have been there from the beginning, and in most respects are much as they were before human culture arose. Man, most destructive of animals, has spoiled the landscape sadly, and improved it but little; he has destroyed forests, killed off wild beasts, perhaps even disordered the rainfall. But the greater forces are beyond his reach; they remodel him, for better or worse, all the while that he thinks he is altering or evading them. As then the physical features of the Aegean, the main entrances to it from outside, and the main possibilities

of human livelihood within it have remained on the whole the same, it is clearly worth while to watch the fortunes of the Greek people, both before and after its primacy, and to see what changes have befallen it; in particular, to ask, what fresh immigrants the Aegean has accepted from elsewhere, in the full light of history, and how it has dealt with them. For since the great age of Greece, no less than before it, the Greek people has suffered contamination from many external sources. Within the Mediterranean itself, and along its seaways, Phoenician, Jew, and Saracen from the Levant, and Roman, Venetian, and Maltese merchants from the West, have come and traded and settled there; and there is evidence which suggests that long before all these, and in even larger measure than they, a fundamental constituent of the whole Aegean population may have to be regarded as sea-borne. Similarly, from all the mainland frontiers of the Aegean, towards Asia Minor, towards the Balkans and the Danube, and towards Pindus and the Albanian highlands, many successive swarms of migratory folk have poured down into the Greek world, sometimes in sudden and destructive masses, oftener in a steady trickle of clans and families. The same is in large measure true of the other Mediterranean forelands, Italy and Spain, and probably of Asia Minor also. Mediaeval Italy, indeed, remains the type specimen of a region whose history is that of its invaders; and in a similar sense the history of the Mediterranean as a whole might be written as a history of its invasions: so closely are the majority of its 'live spots', so to speak, correlated with avenues of intrusion from without. Italy, the type specimen, lies under cover of the great bastion of the Alps, the most imposing and the most treacherous of the great frontiers of the world: Greece and the Aegean world are masked, rather than secluded, by the Balkan highland, with its network of passes and rendezvous. Ionia owes its *raison d'être*, as Mr. Hogarth

has shown so graphically, to its position on the down side of the great avenues of trade and conquest, though not to the same extent of immigration, which seam the western edge of Khatti-land. Syria and Palestine, again, stand for all time as the 'good land this side Jordan', just because on *that* side of Jordan there is nothing to bar the approach of the nomads of North Arabia.

Correlated with the avenues of intrusion are what I venture to describe as 'areas of habitual colonization'. The land between Alps and Apennines, which first becomes known to archaeological history as the region of the non-Italian lake-dwellers and *terremare* folk, reappears a few centuries further on as Gallia Cisalpina, and then as Cisalpine Lombardy.

Palestine is another example. Since the days of Abraham, and earlier still, one Semitic-speaking nomad group after another has been moving westwards into the 'good land', and as steadily settling down to a mode of life which is not nomad at all, and is only Semitic in a very conventional sense.

Another well-marked area of colonization is supplied by Asia Minor in the western half of its central plateau. It was King Priam who said, on the great tower of Troy, that he had never seen such an army as that of the Achaeans since the day when he went as a lad to help the Phrygians, when they fought with Amazon folk on the banks of the Sangarius; and it was by the banks of the same Sangarius that the Gauls in their turn broke loose into Galatia after tumultuary crossing of the Hellespont. In the long Middle Age of the Eastern Empire, it is true, the strategical position of Constantinople held European intruders aloof; but with the dawn of the new age in Turkey, this ancient route has been one of the first to be recovered. The little German settlements along the railway line on the banks of the Sangarius are devising nothing new.

Broadly speaking, then, the history of Man in the Aegean, as in the Mediterranean world of which it is

the microcosm, has been the resultant of two groups of forces. On the one hand, it has been the history of the attempts of non-Mediterranean men to penetrate from elsewhere into the Mediterranean coast-lands, and of earlier occupants to keep them out, almost always unsuccessfully. On the other, it has been the story of the attempts of the successful invader to acclimatize himself to Mediterranean nature, to learn her ways, and, through conformity with them, to conquer her and survive. And these attempts also, in general, have failed. No type of non-Mediterranean invader has ever yet learned so quickly how to live under Mediterranean conditions, as to escape extinction in the process. Thus what Rome was, in its greatest days, for the rest of the Mediterranean—*sentina gentium*—that the Mediterranean itself, and Greek lands and Italy above all, have been for the men who have poured in from Out-land.

But in the making of the Greeks there have been diversities of operations; and in particular we must distinguish two main classes of intruders by land; for their mode of access has been different, and their fate within the Mediterranean has been different also. The reason is this, that the sole mode of life which is possible for man on the great grasslands beyond the mountain zone differs fundamentally from that which is enforced in the forest-clad highlands themselves. When Turcoman, or Saracen, or Scythian, or earlier nomads still, have swept into the Mediterranean world, they have come like the whirlwind, in great gusts of horse-men and cattle-drivers—*ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγή*—an incursion and a raid, and nothing more, though for the moment the world shuddered. But when it has been the mountain zone that has unloaded itself of Armenian, or Albanian, or Vlach, it has been by gradual infiltration, a family or a clan at a time, soaking rather than flooding the foot-hills with new types of man and society, loosely attached to the soil, it is true, but still apparently seden-

tary, and often, in part at least, agricultural in their mode of life; seldom or never consciously aggressive; not easily organized among themselves, even in self-defence; yet persistently extending their collective borders in the same general direction, and seldom relaxing their hold.

The physique and anthropology of the Balkan peninsula are admittedly so peculiar and complicated, that I should hesitate to take even its best attested characters as constituting a distinct type, if it did not seem possible to bring other regions into comparison. Such instances, however, do seem to occur. The best known, I think, is the persistent descent of Mongoloid peoples along the Malay peninsula, and out into the archipelago beyond. Here the physical conditions are similar: an intensely complicated highland, with its structure mainly longitudinal, and marked contrasts of climate and vegetation at different altitudes. The human distribution is similar too: an inexhaustible reservoir of humanity under an arduous régime at one end; an almost limitless area of colonization, under much more generous conditions, at the other; and fairly regular gradation of the physical controls along the whole region between. Under these circumstances, we need not be surprised if the results are similar. The Malay civilization of South-eastern Asia, as it was when European adventure surprised and wrecked it, reproduces many of the characteristics of Aegean culture, particularly in its Early Hellenic phase. Other non-Mediterranean examples are the southern half of the Rocky Mountains, in relation to the plateaux of Central America; and the southward dissemination of the Bantu peoples of Africa, along the East-equatorial highlands.

I venture, therefore, to think that such movements, which I might summarize as 'longitudinal propagation' in a highland region, deserve to be recognized as a distinct type of migration.

It is, however, only what we should expect, that the

tumultuary but transient immigrations from the grasslands are those which have chiefly arrested the attention of historians and ethnologists. The movements of mountain-bred Man, though no less real, and perhaps more profoundly influential, have passed almost unnoticed, and are still practically unexplored except in Northern Italy. Yet the culture and the region which gave to Rome its *templum*, its *vallum*, and its Sublician Bridge, gave also to the Thraceward parts the one type of society which resisted the Persian conquest. To the Greek mainland it has given most of its modern population, and probably also large elements in the best blood of antiquity.

It will probably be apparent by this time that if we restrict our survey for a moment to periods earlier than the recorded Mongol incursions (which introduced a new racial factor altogether), the three classes of inhabitant, distinguished by their mode of life, which the Aegean has harboured, correspond very closely with the contributions of the three great racial types which predominate in Europe and the nearer East. The sea-borne settlers, and the stock which most nearly deserves to be called indigenous, are, in mass, of 'Mediterranean' type; the pastoral nomads of pre-Tatar days seem mainly to have belonged to the 'Northern' group; the small persistent contributions of the mountain forest region are almost purely Alpine or Armenoid, as far back as we can trace them by physique; and the same 'Alpine' element can now be traced by physique in the Aegean itself far further back than any recorded immigration. It is probably, therefore, no exaggeration to say that all the principal varieties of European men have contributed something of themselves to the making of the Greeks.¹

¹ Involuntary experiments on a gigantic scale in progress now among immigrants of the most various European stocks into a new and ruthless area of selection, the city of New York, go far to support the view, suggested here, of the way in which Greeks are made. In New York slums, the Jews, who being mostly emigrants

At the same time, there is clearly something in the physique of 'Mediterranean' Man which fits him in a peculiar way for life on the Mediterranean seaboard: for, once established there, in days of which we still know nothing, he has succeeded, in a remarkable way, in maintaining himself against all rivals within very rigid limits.¹ Outside these limits, however, he is apparently as powerless to establish his race, in competition with the men of the Alpine and Anatolian highlands, as they

from Russia are of predominantly Alpine or Armenoid types, are becoming appreciably less so in the first generation after entry; the Sicilians, who are of almost pure 'Mediterranean' type, become less so, likewise, though the morphological changes in them are in the opposite direction from the changes in the 'Armenoid' Jews. Both sets of immigrants in fact are approximating to a new type commensurate in some sure but still obscure fashion with the conditions of life in New York City. The means by which one type comes to be predominant instead of another are indeed still obscure; but the circumstance that the New York data for the new generation have been drawn exclusively from children who, though of slum-birth, are of school age, suggests that, as in the Aegean, one potent cause of selection is infantile disease.

¹ A recent piece of work by Mr. Hawes illustrates well the rigidity of this physical control. Crete, during the centuries from the thirteenth to the seventeenth A.D., was a political appendage of Venice, and, like all Venetian dependencies, endured a copious inflow of settlers and functionaries from Venice itself and its home-colonies on the Dalmatian coast, a markedly 'Alpine' region. Many Cretan families retain Venetian surnames to-day, particularly in certain provinces. It was therefore natural to suppose that if physical types could be implanted permanently by colonization extending over three or four centuries, these families would retain physical traits characteristic of the region from which their ancestors came. But, province by province, the Venetian-named Cretans to-day are of precisely the same physique as their Greek-named neighbours: in the more 'Alpine' provinces they are 'Alpine', in the 'Mediterranean' districts they are 'Mediterranean'. Either, therefore, well-marked physical types of men are so unstable as to be modified by local conditions within a dozen generations, or they are so sensitive to a strange environment as to die out, like exotic seedlings among indigenous weeds. Between these alternatives we can hardly hesitate to choose, when we remember the deadly selection which is exerted in the South by infantile diseases; for it is believed that hardly one in three of the children who are born in Greek lands lives to its first birthday. With an infant mortality like this, and with a further steady drain on adults from malaria and other regional diseases, it is not surprising to learn that intruders must be very persistently reinforced from the outside, if they are to maintain their race alive under Mediterranean conditions.

are to displace him within sight of the sea which is his home. We reach, therefore, this notable conclusion, that in these apparently favoured lands there is yet a physical control so efficient as to make acclimatization exceedingly difficult and slow; so that, though exotic types of man make their way from time to time either tumultuously or in persistent dribbles into the Mediterranean world, their independent existence is destined to be brief; and after a very few centuries, their presence is difficult to detect. The physical evidence, however (which must be summarized elsewhere), is already sufficient to show that slow infiltration of foreign types has taken place nevertheless; that it has had its maxima at ascertainable periods; and that the types which alone show any ability to acclimatize or to amalgamate with the indigenous 'Mediterranean race' are of the 'Alpine' group, not the blond giants of 'Northern' stock.

So we may assure our Greek friends with some confidence that Cleisthenes, and Alexander after him, were well advised; that initial descent is of smaller importance in the making of a people than has been sometimes supposed; that external environment is stronger than breed, and that the way in which external environment modifies breed in Man is by offering the alternatives of extinction or conformity. It has been a long and perhaps tortuous argument, but from a Wykeham Professor you will tolerate the conclusion that *Manners makyth Man*.

But if *Manners makyth Man*, it becomes urgent to inquire what kinds of human manners have conduced to human life under Aegean conditions. And here we must clearly take exact account of one very marked characteristic of the Aegean world—the close neighbourhood and the bewildering confusion into which strongly contrasted types of environment are thrown there, through the abrupt alternation of land and sea, highland

and lowland, with their respective climates, rainfalls, and vegetations, repeating in miniature, in the heart of our Aegean microcosm, the dominant features of very large areas not far outside it.

In the minds of Greek philosophers, and no less in the minds of Greek historians, there was little doubt as to the dependence of the higher upon the lower life, at all events so far as concerned the forms assumed by the higher. Every political society, for Aristotle, is one *γενομένη τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν*, and τὸ ζῆν for man presumes a βίος or way of living. But there are many kinds of βίοι, each characterized as a special mode of struggle with Nature for subsistence. The simplest βίος was that which involved the least exertion on the part of Man, and so the least alteration of Nature's surface-aspect. The more complicated βίοι united, within one political organization, numerous livelihoods represented by groups of the citizens; each demanding greater exertion, and exerting profound interference with natural conditions, but conferring more cogent control over Nature's forces and gifts (what Aristotle describes as καθόλου ἡ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἐπιμέλεια καὶ κτήσις) and resulting in appreciably greater well-being; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡδέως ζῶσι, προσαναπληροῦντες τὸν ἐνδεέστατον βίον.

Aristotle's teleology, it is true, allows him to assume, without attempt at proof, that it is because men are to have ultimately these various needs, that Nature is so constituted as to satisfy them in the wonderful ways that we know. Modern evolutionary thought, *biological* in the right sense of that hapless word, inclines, on the other hand, to proceed from the material causes which it conceives as more easily knowable. The philosophical historian may be content with a position between. Human needs and Nature's gifts fall all alike within the field of his observation; he is concerned, of course, with Man's solutions of the problems set by Nature, because his business is precisely this, to describe the works of Man, ὥς μὴ τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα

γένηται: but he is concerned no less with the problems as set by Nature, because Man's works would have been different if Nature had set the problem differently.

Now it should be possible to classify, in accordance with their chief mode of subsistence, all the more important kinds of men who have contributed to the Aegean breed. But in this respect, as in others, the knowledge of the ancient world, which we gather from its literature, is fragmentary and indirect, and much even of this has not yet been really gathered at all. I shall value your help in collecting it. The regional controls themselves, however, were certainly observed and appreciated in antiquity. A good instance is Aristotle's classification of democracies according to their bases of subsistence; another is the habitual care with which Herodotus records what people ate. In a brief hour, however, I prefer to begin at the other end, and, expanding the phrases of Aristotle, classify the modes of existence, or (in a word) the types of *manners*, to one or other of which all types of men must conform τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, if they are to maintain life at all in a world fashioned as Greek lands are.

It hardly needs stating that these possibilities of subsistence are closely linked with the different types of vegetation, and so come at once under strict regional control. It has been less obvious that as these types of vegetation have remained practically unaltered in quality since classical times—however much the labours or the ravages of Man may have altered the distribution of some of them—the modes of life which they respectively permit can still be studied directly in Greek lands.

It is a rough but adequate summary of Mediterranean vegetation which classifies it under three principal types: *first*, the forest, on high slopes for the most part, since its growth depends on summer rain and copious winter snow: *second*, the grassland, in intermont plains of more restricted moisture, fading off by

defect into steppe and even desert, or in luxuriant excess, as alluvial fenland; and *third*, between these, the scrub-land,¹ thin-soiled, and sparsely encumbered by many dwarf evergreens, with undergrowth of annual flowers and winter herbage. This scrub-land type has by far the widest distribution now: forest and grass-land, in all their varieties, lie framed in the scrub, and insulated by it like oases.

Out in the scrub, the prospect for Man is poor enough; and the wide prevalence of scrub-land is the chief cause of the surprising smallness and discontinuity of all Mediterranean populations. Owing its character to the rarity of soil and water, it is quite irreclaimable; and as the gradients are steep, and winter rains torrential, there is every danger that if its natural protection of thorns and briars is removed unwarily, the next copious shower may be the end of what little soil there is. Nor does this danger cease when centuries of labour have terraced a hill-side with its own rocky fragments; the terrace-walls themselves are permeable as sieves, and need constant watching and laborious repairs. Yet with all this terrace-engineering, the area of the scrub-land seems fated to increase irresistibly. At its upper limit, the forest, once devastated, restores itself but rarely, and in a very fragmentary way; at the lower edge, the scrub is steadily gaining on the more fertile belt, as the remaining soil is denuded to lower and lower contour lines. The classic record of the process is in the *Critias*; to the eye of Socrates the geologist, Greece lay now like a dead animal, half decayed, with protruding bones: only the depth of its coast waters prevents it from being fringed with visible mud-flats yet. A great part of the Mediterranean region, particularly in its Eastern basin,

¹ As we hardly possess the thing, in this region of 'intermittent precipitation', our language halts for a name by which to translate the *maquis* of the French or the *dumeta* of Latin. 'Moorland' does not convey the right impression to any one who has haunted the *maquis*; and 'bush veldt' is at the same time unfamiliar, and geographically inexact.

seems in fact to have lived its life: it is permanently disabled from maintaining a large population or a great culture any more.

Nor, in its natural state, does the scrub-land provide that bare minimum of subsistence for Man which is offered, for example, by its African and American equivalents, the bush veldt and the thicket-strewn margin of the prairie. In particular, it lacks that wealth of berry-bearing plants which lends so marked a colour to Redskin economy, and gives our own moorland its cranberries, whortleberries, and blackberries. For this reason, and in spite of its copious honey, the Greek world is in general a jamless world. x/

So few wild animals, too, are harboured by the scrub, that hunting plays but a very small part in its human economy. Such game as there is, is in the forest; it is the 'wild boar out of the wood' who is the farmer's worst enemy, and the forests, as we have seen, are mainly in the heights, where alone the rainfall is adequate. The only exceptions are a few rain-favoured regions like the west coast of Peloponnese, or where great mountains, rising abruptly from the sea, as in Pontus, Caramania, or Epirus, are thickly wooded to their foot, through the local rains which they precipitate. Artemis, therefore, is a Goddess of the hills; she hunts up to the snow-line.

For the larger cattle, also, the scrub has no sustenance; cow and horse in the Eastern Mediterranean are oasis animals, fed almost by hand, as you may see, too, to-day in the Riviera; the sole exceptions are the few low-lying grasslands, like Thessaly, Elis, and the Hebrus valley. In Thessaly there were wild oxen even in historic times. For Athens, on the contrary, Poseidon's offering was not to be the best; Athenian cavalry remained exotic or a drill-ground sham; the Knights of Aristophanes were at their best as horse-marines. In Italy, which in so many ways is less typically 'Mediterranean' than Greece, things were rather better for the horse, as

Tarentum and all Apulia testify, and very much better for the cow.

It is, in fact, only with the aid of goats, and locally also with sheep, that the scrub-land is made habitable for Man; and even so, only on the further understanding that grain food is available as well, either locally in terraced valleys, or exchanged, from a distance, against the many varieties of cheese. I do not know any instance, in or near the Mediterranean, in which a goat-herding population subsists wholly on the produce of its own goats, as seems to be possible on the grassland for the herders of horses. Conversely, in default of cows and meadow pasture, the corn-growing population is dependent on the scrub for its milk-food. We have then, I think, to assume as one ubiquitous ingredient of Mediterranean society, that *αἰπόλος αἰγῶν*, the goatherd who gave so much trouble in Ithaca; 'wild, seditious, rambling' like his beasts; a daily provocation to war, a menace even to his own cornland, and a standing first-charge on its produce. Let us thank Pan and the Nymphs that, through this same parasitic trait, he is at least restrained from being nomad as well.

On this seamy side of Arcadia there is no need to dwell longer, and I turn to the forest region. The conditions here are instructive. As the summer rainfall increases, berries begin to abound; but, in the Mediterranean at all events, far more important than the berries are the fruits and nuts of forest trees. It was no poet's fancy, but common knowledge and ethnographic fact, that made the old Greeks picture primitive Man as subsisting on acorns and chestnuts. Similar diet sustains a large share of the population of the Alpine zone to-day, from Caucasus to the Pyrenees, and most of all in Balkan lands. It was certainly familiar to classical Greece, for it forms a distinct class in Aristotle's survey of human livelihoods; and its antiquity is illustrated by the copious stores of such squirrel's food which are dug up in Lake-dwellings and Terremare.

Distinct from the hard fruits, but regionally contentious with them, are the soft class, apple, pear, cherry, and the nobler stone-fruits; a source of nourishment equally ancient, as the Terremare larders show, and equally widespread along the mountain zone, from the cherry's own home in Pontic Cerasus, and the plum-cake eaters of the forests beyond the Euxine, as Herodotus knew them, to their modern counterpart, the Bordeaux plums and the candied cherries of the Hautes-Pyrénées. In Balkan lands there is still rich harvest and high entertainment for any one who will work out the ethnography of cherry brandy. The apple and pear culture touches the South more directly; for the wild pear is tolerant of summer drought, and in Crete and Euboea may be seen grafted by the wayside, as a work of benevolence. These gifts of Nature, however, belong to the day of small things, and have been thrown into the shade by the later discovery of the olive, which has become for all this region what the date palm is for the zone of the great deserts. The vine stands intermediate, for, though the wild clusters of the Balkans and the Pyrenees are not wholly contemptible, yet most of the vintage grapes have probably been introduced from elsewhere. The carob, a similar and much later improvement of a natural product, makes another great industry and means of existence which, as Herodotus would put it, 'lives off trees.' Finally, what the vine and olive were in the foreign trade of the old Greek world, the orange and the lemon rapidly became in the modern, as soon as cheap transport was available to the populous and inhospitable North.

Now this tree-fruit livelihood is that which gives the most generous return of all for the very small labour which it demands. To Athens the olive was the 'best gift' indeed, for olive culture, of itself, went far to permit the Athenian 'ever to say or to hear some new thing'. Deep-rooted institutions of the old world, like chronic seasonal warfare and genuine democratic

government, are in fact hardly conceivable without it. It is a mode of living which transfers in unique fashion the irresponsibility of the forest-bred savage into regions where leisure itself has high economic value; for Aegean contemplation differs from Indian in this, that in Greek lands it is seldom too hot for one to think with a view to action.

Of the forest animals, as Man's enemy or prey, I have said something already, but I would add here that as with the scrub-land goat, so too in the forest, Man has seen his way to love his enemies, or at least to agree with his adversary quickly. He has domesticated the pig; and though the pig gives no milk, it is of high economic value in a forest régime, as modern Servia and ancient Gallia Cisalpina show. It was not for nothing, too, that the Gallic Nismes advertised by its coinage its trade in hams. Plato, it is true, thought poorly of pig-keeping as an ingredient in civil society, but the Homeric picture of Eumaeus is a truer glimpse of how Early Greece looked at the business.

One small contribution to sociology belongs to our study of the forest régime. In the collection of forest fruits it is obvious that many hands make light work; physical strength, on the other hand, and even stature, count almost for nothing; a long back is a weary back, when it has to stoop for nuts and whortleberries. As an *ἐνδεέστατος βίος*, moreover, it is supplemented either by hunting or pig-keeping; and both these occupations take the men-folk far from home; for the pig, not needing to be milked, can spend its nights abroad. In such conditions children have their economic value on the mother's side of the household; and among peoples of forest habit, in most parts of the world, matriarchal custom tends to prevail. Now it has caused much perplexity among historians of the Eastern Mediterranean to account, not merely for the prominent position occupied historically by the women in societies which professed to be of patriarchal structure, as in the

Homeric Age and in Attica, but also for clear traces of widespread early matriarchy; for legends of women-ruled peoples like the Amazons; and for the local persistence of matrilineal societies, as in Lycia in the time of Herodotus. All this would explain itself, if we could assume, as I think we safely may, that over a large part of the mountain-zone forest régime not only prevailed in early times far more widely than later, but in the earliest times was the only possible form of society, and remained so as long as forest life persisted. Even when agriculture spread, as we have already seen in the particular case of Attica, that branch of it which spread more widely, and has since flourished most securely, is still the cultivation of fruit-bearing and berry-bearing trees, with its demand for women's skill and its opening for children's labour. We shall remember in illustration the picture of the aged Laertes, quite past work, except for pottering in the orchard. We should note here many signs, ancient and modern, that Lycia, and South-west Asia Minor generally, retained their forests much longer than the coast from Caria northwards.

On the other margin of the scrub lies the grassland, fading away into desert on the flat lands, great and small; intensifying into fen and reed-fringed river, in rare small instances, like the plains of Enna and Crissa, and ancient Argos. Now it is on and around the grasslands that the two great early sources of human motive-power have play: the pastoral nomad, cropping Nature's own cereals with sheep and large cattle, and above all with horses; the farmer, shepherding a stationary flock (to reverse Aristotle's phrase about the nomad) in the shape of those 'nobler grasses', barley and wheat. For the proper locus of these latter seems to be twofold: the well-watered edges of the flat land, where it receives the drainage of the foot-hills, or absorbs the winter snow like the true prairie; and the no less well-watered edges of alluvial valleys, defined

downwards, however, in the latter case at the point where the subsoil is permanently water-logged, or the Lernaean hydra shows his head out of the karst limestones, in irrepressible deep-seated springs.

The effects of agriculture in the Greek world are more obvious than its origins or its true place in Aegean economy. Importunate toil has encroached upon the forests, as in Cyprus, and terraced the scrub-land, and won for agriculture, in the Mediterranean's great periods, an apparent extension and importance which may well disguise its artificiality. Failure, too, to distinguish between agriculture, in the strict sense, and the more leisured arboriculture, as I have tried to picture it, may very likely account for a certain lack of definition in current views. The distinction itself, however, is somewhat disguised by the way in which Mediterranean climate facilitates the task even of the corn-grower, by crowding into its brief *θέρος*, between March and July, processes which in northern lands are hardly over by October. We have also to remember that, even within this shortened reaping-time, the Aegean farmer's work is greatly lightened by eliminating hay from his calculations almost completely, so that one of the busiest seasons of the English year is one of idle hands in the South, and devoted to the Devil's work of seasonal war. Our annual Balkan war-scares, about Easter-time, are one of Nature's reminders that neither she nor we have altered very much down there.

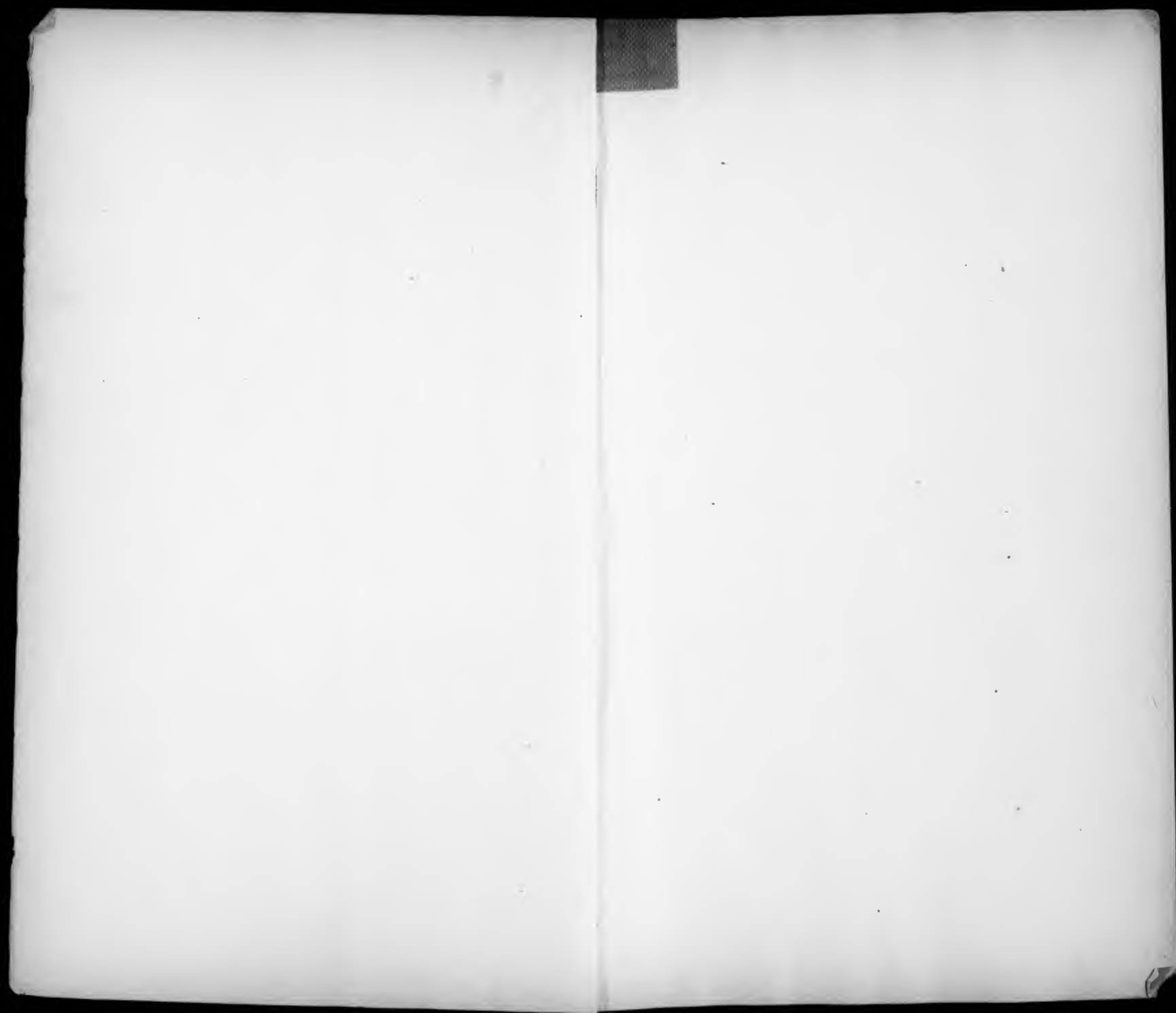
It would be instructive to treat in similar fashion the part played by pastoral peoples in the Mediterranean world. It is no accident that Aristotle's economic theories, absurdly untrue as they were of the Greek world of his own day, are almost exactly the economics of the pastoral nomad. Aristotle was looking at society as he conceived it to have been designed to be, with a rigidly patriarchal organization, a selfless and all but brainless womankind, and an ideal of economic independence for each political whole; and, as M. Demolin

has shown in the most instructive of his regional studies, these conditions are realized fully only on the grassland and in a nomad pastoral regime. That human perfection could be realized on a milk diet was a simple faith which in Greek lands was as old as Homer, and was current still in the time of Aeschylus. Plato, as we should expect, is at sea in a vegetarian reaction which has a touch of the neurotic; but Aristotle touches bottom, as he often does, in the folklore knowledge of the man in the street. But how did Greek folklore inherit, and from whom, the economics and ethics of Grassland?

We are here at a point where questions of régime—of what Aristotle would have called the people's *βίος*—become almost inextricably confused with questions of race and language, which would require whole volumes to themselves. I will only touch here upon one, which happens at the moment to be open. How comes it that Thessaly, and along with Thessaly, the smaller intermont plains of Central Greece, are being discovered now to have received, far back in the later Stone Age, a civilization which is independent of Knossos and the Cyclades, earlier and higher in type than anything that we know on the rest of the Greek mainland, strikingly reminiscent, in its decorative art, of the neolithic art of the Russian steppe, and linked with it already by sparse discoveries in Servia and Roumania, which are cohering rapidly? As these Thessalian folk were certainly sedentary, we cannot argue confidently, as we might if we knew them to be nomad; but Thessaly and Boeotia enjoyed in classical times the reputation of early homes of horse-breeding and cattle-keeping, and we may have here genuine relics of a block of originally nomad people transferred to a miniature flat land with open grass enough to conserve their pastoral habit, but with physical barriers round it to extinguish nomadism. In this connexion, the horse-breeding fame of Homeric Thrace, and of Hellenistic Phrygia and Mysia, comes into

fresh relief as a real though later link with the northern steppe.

I have confined myself intentionally, in this very elementary survey, to the study of dry-land and indeed inland βίαι, partly because these have been so little analysed hitherto, partly because their maritime counterparts are comparatively familiar, both in history and in life, and partly also because, at the present stage of our inquiry, I see some hope of long-delayed contributions from that least appreciated element in the composite people of Greece, the 'Alpine' inhabitants of the surrounding upland. For here alone, till the black coats of European culture come in and wreck them, will it be possible for a brief interval to watch in operation such archaic types of manners as tribal society worthy of the Aetolia of Thucydides, federal experiments which may still inspire their Polybius, blood-feud and seasonal war in full observance, seasonal migration, seasonal drama, and, as we now learn, seasonal marriage-rites, which would have delighted—and perhaps *did* interest—Socrates. We need, of course, much more intensive observation in the field before we can go much further; and we need also, as you will easily see, much re-reading of familiar authors also; for we know well how much they have to tell us, whenever we go to them with fresh questions and fresh commentary. They indeed, and not we, seem to me to be the effective commentators. We shall also certainly need some new tools, which I think we could construct for ourselves by concerted effort; and I welcome the leisure and amenities of this Wykeham Chair, as means of service, on some such lines as these, to the study, here, of Greece and Greek lands.



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